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846 The paternal resguardo after the birth of the child is known in anthropology by the name of couvade. It occurs in many Brazilian tribes and has given rise to the most varied interpretations.[171] The preoccupation, reasonable by the way, with considering the couvade in its relations with the birth ritual should not be carried to the exaggeration of reducing the couvade itself to a rite or conjunction of ritualized acts.[114] In order to understand the functions of the couvade -- Roger Bastide quite correctly warned -- it is less important to study its ritualization than to compare it with other situations of life and practices analogous to it. From such a comparison it will become apparent what is general and what is specific in these practices and situations. As /87/ we have seen,[196] the Guaraní, speaking Portuguese, calls the paternal brooding "resguardo," but he also applies the term, at least nowadays, to the measures taken by the mother of the newborn baby. This is already significant: there thus exists a common element in the paternal and maternal relations. On the other hand, however, there are also distinctive elements. I have rarely heard the term odjépotá[827] used for the mother, and only the Mbüá consider her (odjéko)akú; the others do not have a special designation for the state of the parturient woman.[115] Ermelina, the oldest Ñandéva woman of the village of Bananal, remembers the time when the Guaraní (Ñandéva) parturient women got up as soon as the first day; nowadays, she adds, "they stay there a week without being able to do anything." -- Among the present-day Ñandéva of Dourados, the woman stays in bed some four days after the birth;[184] the Kayová woman remains seated for two or three days with her legs crossed, lying down only at night.

Finally, there are common and divergent elements. In any case one should speak of the couvade only in relation to the father.

If, in situations different from, but in part analogous to that in which the family is expanded by a newborn baby, precautions of the couvade type are required,[789][114] that is, magical measures to neutralize the vulnerability -- physical and psychic -- stemming from a state of "weakness," the hypothesis held by various authors,

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846 [789] [114] that one is dealing primarily with an extension for the father of precautionary measures necessary for the safety of the newborn baby, is admissible. Through a kind of "participation," the father represents the child, and, to some extent, the mother as well. The danger threatening him is of the same nature as that hanging over the mother. There is probably no need to interpret his practices as having any meaning or function fundamentally different from the measures taken by his spouse. Concerning the 846 851 presumable "recognition of paternity, which has been pointed out as the social function of the masculine post-parturition -- with reason, perhaps, for other primitive groups --, we do not find it among the Guaraní, since the non-observance would not affect in any way the status of the father with reference to the baby, but simply its magical security and the health of the child. Therefore, the masculine post-parturition, instead of leading to social paternity, is, on the contrary, the result of it. And much less can it be said that the resguardo of the father has the function of conferring upon the man and husband paternal dignity within the group constellation; in this case there would be no reason to repeat the observances every time a child is born, but it would be enough to submit to them on the occasion of the birth of the first-born. There is apparently nothing among the Guaraní that would permit speaking of specific social functions inherent in the couvade.

846 842 /88/ Contrary to what people have tried to show with reference to other tribes of the Tupí-Guaraní group, for the Guaraní there is no indication of any direct relation between the masculine post-parturition and the ideas concerning conception that exist in the [827] tribal culture. Although it is acknowledged that male children come from the father and female children from the mother, I have not obtained the slightest reference to differences in the paternal or maternal behavior in the one case or the other. One 846 753 Mbüá informant from Rio Branco, for example, insisted on the necessity for the father to take precautions /se resguardar/ after the birth of a girl as well, "for otherwise the child will get sick."

846 178 [626] The fear of ridicule and criticism makes it difficult to obtain sufficiently reliable information about the couvade. At

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881 302 301 When the first menses appear, the hair of the adolescent is cut in circular fashion, or her head is shorn, and she keeps it covered with a cloth, in order to avoid the attacks of evil spirits and in particular the odjépotá (1).

1./In the original source, the notes for Ch. VI appear on pp. 97-98./ The Mbüá told me that among them the task of cutting the girl's hair falls to the father, immediately on the first day of the indisposition. With her hair, the girl makes -- for her father, brother, or another person in the family -- a band that constitutes one of the typical elements of Guaraní material culture, since it is an ornament common to the three subgroups of the tribe. It is mainly the men who wear it, with some forty or more turns around each wrist, forming a band about ten centimeters wide. It is a cord twined out of two strands of 10 to 20 threads of hair in each one. The Kayová call the ornament pó-apý-kuahá, the Mbüá simply pó-kuáá. The Ñandéva, who already have almost completely abandoned it, say that it originated as protection against the bowstring, which seems doubtful, since its use on both wrists would not be justified. The Kayová consider the pó-apý-kuahá as a festive ornament, comparable, in the words of Paí Tomás, to the new clothes of the civilized people. The Mbüá, who put the band both on the wrists and on the legs, the men above and the women below the calves, tetýmïguá and tetýmïkuáá, interpret its use as a divine institution for the "Guarani" to be distinguished from other Indians. But they also indicate the magical end of avoiding the tiredness of the musculature of the arms and legs, the tetýmïguá therefore being considered indispensable on long walks.

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5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4
Apapocuva

A shaman is a man who owns a great many magic chants, which he uses for the common good of his people. He must also be capable of leading a ceremonial dance, of playing the rattle gourd in the different modes, and of performing the rites befitting certain circumstances. The main test of his skill is offered by the harvest dance, which can be successfully organized only by full-fledged shamans. By his "voltes" and jumps, the shaman endeavors to make his body "light." He must also have frequent dreams, because they give him superior knowledge and insight into the future.

The ancient *Guaraní* and even many modern groups assign disease to the intrusion of an object into the body. The *Apapocuva* visualize the source of the illness as an invisible substance that the shaman sees after he has chanted for several hours. The treatment's aim is to extract that substance and to endow the patient with magic power.

Legends and historical traditions both attest the extraordinary prestige enjoyed by some shamans of old who were leaders of their tribes. After receiving their inspiration, these great men retired into the wilderness, where they lived on celestial food. By constant dancing some *Apapocuva-Guaraní* shamans gradually subjugated their animal soul, strengthening their ayvucué, or peaceful soul, until they could fly toward the heavenly Land-Without-Evil.

Among ancient *Guaraní* great medicine men worked miracles by their chants. With their saliva they caused death. They were strong enough to drag a whole tribe across a large river. They claimed absolute control of all natural phenomena, including stars. After their death, their bones, kept as relics in luxurious hammocks hung in special huts, were worshiped and consulted as oracles. Ordinary shamans added to their prestige by sleight of hand.

Shamans are not only responsible for the religious life, but also interfere in the administration of justice. Whenever a succession of misfortunes is imputed to witchcraft, the shaman unmasks the sorcerer, who is savagely killed. The shamans' political power derives, naturally, from their prestige and from the fear which they inspire. Usually, witchcraft is blamed on a neighboring tribe. Sorcerers kill their victims by practicing witchcraft on their exuviae.

MYTHOLOGY

The high-sounding names of the main characters in the *Apapocuva-Guaraní* mythology tinge it with a solemnity quite foreign to the versions of the same motifs collected elsewhere.

The story of the creation is told in impressive terms. At the beginning there was darkness, and the Eternal Bats fought in the night. Our Great Father found himself and created the earth, which he propped on the Eternal Cross. With him was a companion, Our-Father-Who-Knows-Everything. Our Great Father made a woman, Our Mother, whom he

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
SI4 Abipon SI4
GUARANI SM4

spirits of wine. Some prick the gum of the tooth with the spine of the fish raya, and by eliciting blood, allay the pain. Others again reduce tigers' claws and alum first into a calx, and then into a powder, by laying them on hot coals, and after they are well mixed up together, apply them to the hollow of the tooth. By the adoption of this method, many, beside myself, have found not only the pain, but the cause of the pain so entirely removed, that it never returned afterwards. Tooth-ache is a frequent and dreadful affliction to Europeans in Paraguay, on account of the scarcity or unskilfulness of surgeons. In extracting the diseased tooth, they pierce and lacerate the whole gum near it, which causes extreme pain, together with much effusion of blood. That the Abipones never need the aid of these torturers, is a truly enviable part of their felicity. I never saw a toothless person amongst them. The teeth, which they have made strenuous use of all their lives, generally go with them to the grave.

A 145

Whenever they feel themselves unwell, although the complaint be in the foot or the elbow, they always say that their heart pains them. The same is the case with the Guaranies. If you say to the sick man, what ails you, what is the matter with you? he immediately

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